

Contemporary Issues in Juvenile Justice

Volume 10 | Issue 1

Article 1

2017

Diversion of Juvenile Offenders in China

Ying Cao

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalcommons.pvamu.edu/cojip-contemporaryissues>



Part of the [Child Psychology Commons](#), [Criminology and Criminal Justice Commons](#), [Social Control, Law, Crime, and Deviance Commons](#), and the [Social Work Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Cao, Ying (2017) "Diversion of Juvenile Offenders in China," *Contemporary Issues in Juvenile Justice*: Vol. 10 : Iss. 1 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://digitalcommons.pvamu.edu/cojip-contemporaryissues/vol10/iss1/1>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by Digital Commons @PVAMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Contemporary Issues in Juvenile Justice by an authorized editor of Digital Commons @PVAMU. For more information, please contact hvkoshy@pvamu.edu.

Diversion of Juvenile Offenders in China

Ying Cao

Prairie View A&M University

China's approach towards juvenile offenders has historically been more rehabilitative than punitive as compared to the United States. In recent years, China has developed innovative diversion programs/interventions for youth who are likely to receive prison sentences of less than one year. This paper presents a brief history of the development of juvenile diversion in China, the effectiveness of the Chinese juvenile diversion program known as "conditional non prosecution," and discusses the benefits and drawbacks of the diversion program, known as the "Dandelion Pukou."

Keywords: juvenile diversion, China, justice, rehabilitation

The concept of diverting youth from the juvenile justice system is embedded in the idea that processing youth in the formal system for committing minor offenses may inadvertently stigmatize them (Lundman, 1993), and that, if they were diverted, it would benefit youth, reduce recidivism, and save taxpayer money. The idea has a strong theoretical underpinning based on "labeling" principles proposed by Tannenbaum (1938) and Becker's (1963) notion of how social groups label certain acts as "deviant" and treat those who commit those acts as "outsiders" (p.1), and Lemert's (1972) position on how labeling leads to "secondary deviance" (p. 63). Studies on the effectiveness of the diversion programs in the United States have shown mixed results. Although some studies found certain diversion programs to be successful (Beck, Ramsey, Lipps, & Travis, 2006; Cuellar, McReynolds, & Wasserman, 2005; Davidson, Redner, Admur, & Mitchell, 1990; Frazier & Cochran, 1986; Hamilton, Sullivan, Veysey, & Grillo, 2006; and Henggeler, Halliday-Boykins, Cunningham, Randall, Shapiro, & Chapman, 2006), others reported no impact (Patrick & Marsh, 2005; Polk, 1995). Early opponents of diversion programs in the United States noted negative effects, including an increase in recidivism, perceived labeling, and self-reported delinquency (Elliott, Dunford, & Knowles, 1978; Klein 1976; Lincoln, 1976; and Lipsey, Cordray, & Berger 1981). Despite these concerns, the belief that isolating offenders results in a reduction in crime prevails in many countries, and China is no exception. In this paper, the newly developed Chinese diversion program known as the "Dandelion Pukou" is discussed ("Summer Program of Dandelion Pukou," 2013).

Juvenile Delinquency and Justice in China

The law of the People's Republic of China regarding Protection of Minors (1991) defines minors as anyone under the age of 18. Those between 19 and 25 years of age are considered young adults. Current studies on juvenile delinquency in China focus on both groups. There

are three laws that regulate juvenile behavior: the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (1997 Revision), the Public Security Administration Punishments Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment), and the Law of the People's Republic of China on Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (2012 Amendment). Crimes committed by youth typically fall under the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (1997) and are handled by police, prosecutors, and judges. Offenses such as petty theft, vandalism, simple assault, and disruption of public order¹ are considered violations of public security law and are handled by only the police. Because it is not a judicial procedure, this study will not discuss violations that fall under the Public Security Administration Punishment Law of the People's Republic of China (2012).

According to the Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (1997), a person who has reached the age of 16 and who commits a crime shall bear criminal responsibility. An individual who is over 14 but under 16 and commits serious offenses (e.g., intentionally killing, injuring, or poisoning someone, arson, and causing explosions) also shall bear criminal responsibility. Youth under the age of 18 shall be given a lesser or a mitigated punishment compared to adult offenders.

Lo, Maxwell, and Wong (2006) suggested that the Chinese juvenile justice model has a social control orientation as both informal and formal social control mechanisms are used in the treatment of juvenile offenders. For example, the police have a certain amount of discretionary power. If the offenses are minor, they refer cases to an educational assistance program, such as a work-study school (Lo et al., 2006). If the offenses are serious, they are referred to People's Procuratorial Office. At present, there is no independent juvenile procuratorial office in China; however, most procuratorial offices at the district or city level have a separate juvenile prosecution division. Juvenile prosecutors have discretionary power on whether to grant bail before trial, refer the case to the court, or supervise offenders who participate in diversion programs. If the offenses are serious, those cases are referred to the juvenile court (see Figure 1).

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Ying Cao, Prairie View A&M University. E-mail: ycao@student.pvamu.edu

¹ Depending on the seriousness the offense, disruption of public disorder, theft, or assault can also be considered crimes.

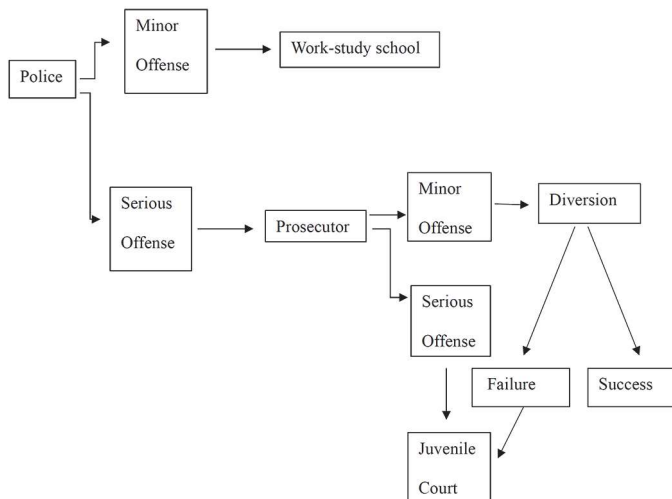


Figure 1. Case Referral Process

In addition to informal social control, re-integrative shaming theory also provides theoretical support to the diversion program. Re-integrative shaming, although an expression of disapproval, has a positive function because it is followed by re-acceptance of the community (Braithwaite, 1989). Highly homogeneous countries such as China and Japan, tend to empathize strong group control on individual's behavior, but at the same time believe in forgiveness and acceptance back into the community (Chen, 2002). Thus, diversion contract, as normative regulations, informally controls people's behavior.

Development of Juvenile Diversion in China

The start of the diversion (1992–2009). Diversion is “an attempt to divert, or channel out, youthful offenders from the juvenile justice system” (Bynum & Thompson, 1996, p. 430). In China, diversion is also known as “conditional prosecution” or “conditional non prosecution.” Until recently, once a juvenile offender was placed in a diversion program, he or she would be given a “probation” period, usually three to six months. During this time, if the juvenile followed all the regulations and met the conditions of the program, a final non prosecution decision would be made, and the juvenile would not be prosecuted. Instead, the juvenile would be diverted from the court system and would have no criminal record.

The earliest diversion program dates from 1992 in Shanghai, China. At that time, the diversion was not officially regulated in either Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment) or the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of Minors. Most of the diversion programs during this period were seen as a revolution in the juvenile system, and this revolution seemed to have been accepted by the authorities.

In 1992, the People's Procuratorial Office in Changning, Shanghai, made a “conditional prosecution” decision in the case of a juvenile who committed a theft. This action was considered to be the beginning of diversion revolution in China (Deng, 2012). In 2003, the People's Procuratorial Office in Nanjing, Pukou, expanded the application of “conditional prosecution” from youth to young adults, specifically for college students (Deng, 2012). In March 2005, the People's Procuratorial Office in Yushe, Shanxi, placed one juvenile homicide offender into the diversion program (Deng, 2012). Before this case, most offenses were limited to minor offenses, such as theft and assault. However, diversion was still a controversial issue, because the law did not officially recognize it.

The popularization of diversion. From 2009 to 2012, juvenile diversion programs were instituted in most provinces in China. During this period, China launched a new round of judicial reforms, including the establishment of the juvenile justice system. The diversion approach was an important part of this juvenile judicial reform. Many procuratorial offices at provincial levels created their own regulations of diversion. Deng (2012) noted that over one-third of the procuratorial offices in the provinces started various kinds of diversion programs.

On July 1, 2010, the People's Procuratorial Office in Henan Province² officially required all procuratorial offices within the province to start diversion programs beginning August 1, 2010 (Deng, 2012). At this time, juvenile diversion was widely accepted by the justice system and society. Although the concept was popular, there were no standards concerning the length of the probation period, what kind of youth would be placed in the program, or what kind of service youth would receive probation. Different local procuratorial offices had their own implementation.

In Hunan province, a public hearing process would take place before youth were placed in a diversion program (Deng, 2012). In the public hearing, offenders, their parents/guardians, defense attorney, the victim, people from local communities, and social workers would be invited by the prosecutor and permitted to present their opinion during the hearing. Although it was called a public hearing, it was similar to a Western-style family group conference.

Legalization of juvenile diversion. In 2012, China launched its new Criminal Procedural Law (2012 amendment). The law includes special procedures for criminal cases committed by minors. Article 266 establishes the principle of handling juvenile cases: education prior to punishment. Articles 271 through 273 regulate diversion procedures and stipulate that three conditions must be met before a juvenile is eligible for diversion. These include (1) the juvenile is suspected of committing a crime as provided in chapters 4, 5, or 6 of the Specific Provisions of the Criminal Law; (2) a criminal punishment of not more than one year of imprisonment may be imposed on the juvenile; and, (3) the juvenile has demonstrated repentance (Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China, 2012). Finally, the people's procuratorate shall observe and supervise the juvenile offenders who are under conditional non prosecution (Criminal Procedure Law, 2012).

In 2014, an official explanation of Criminal Procedural Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment) was launched. The explanation required that prosecutors hear the victims' opinion before making a decision about conditional non prosecution. If victims do not agree with the decision, they can appeal the decision to an upper-level procuratorate office (e.g., a city-level case could be appealed to the provincial level), but they cannot file a lawsuit against the offender (Dong, 2015).

After the implementation of Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment), every procuratorate office in China established its own diversion program. To provide services to youth who committed crimes outside of their residential provinces, cross-province cooperation was established between Shanghai and Jiangsu in 2014. The goal of this cooperation was to provide treatment or diversion service to out-of-province offenders. For example, if a juvenile offender from Shanghai commits a crime in Jiangsu, he will be put into Shanghai's diversion program. Currently, non prosecution is a common occurrence, whereas prosecution is rare. In some programs, youth are required to participate in community service in their local neighborhood. In other programs, professional counseling and vocational training are provided.

² China's administration division is composed of three levels: the lowest level is district level, the middle level is city level, and the highest level is provincial level.

Juvenile Diversion in Pukou

Conditional Non Prosecution in Pukou

The People's Procuratorial Office in Pukou District, Nanjing City, is one of the several procuratorates that initiated the juvenile diversion revolution in China. As early as 2003, the Procuratorate Office placed a college student who committed theft into their diversion program (Deng, 2012). As the student was over 18 and considered a young offender, a five-month probation was given. They named this probation *bangjiao*, which means help and education (Deng, 2012). This innovation attracted public attention and received a lot of comments and criticisms. Many scholars argued that *bangjiao*, should not be applied to young adults because they are not minors. However, the upper-level authorities acquiesced to it because they believed it would be helpful in maintaining social stability and harmony. Between 2003 and 2012, this Procuratorate Office continued this diversion practice. In spite of the diversion revolution, there is no specific diversion-related law for young adults over the age of 18. As such, diversion is still used as an exception while prosecution is still common.

Dandelion Pukou

The change in Pukou diversion occurred in 2011 and 2012. In 2011, the Pukou Procuratorial Office introduced criminal justice social workers into the program, and the social workers, rather than the prosecutors, provided professional services. When the Criminal Procedure Law was launched and diversion was formalized in 2012, the Pukou Procuratorate improved the program and renamed it "Dandelion Pukou." In Chinese culture, the dandelion is a symbol of growth, warmth, healing, and hope. When police refer cases to the Pukou Procuratorate, juvenile prosecutors review the case documents and interview both the offender and the victim. Then a social worker visits the offender's family and school. A public hearing is held, and the offender, his/her parents, defense attorneys³, victims, teachers, and people from local communities or neighborhoods are invited by the prosecutor. After the hearing, the prosecutors and social workers develop a prediversion assessment (see Figure 2). Based on the assessment, a decision about conditional non prosecution is made, and offenders may be referred to the program. If the youth refuse to participate, they are referred to court. After youth have been referred to the program, they sign a *bangjiao* contract with the prosecutors, parents/guardians, teachers, and social workers. In the contract, the length of the probation is listed, and the offenders' rights and responsibilities are explained in detail. The probation period is usually six months to one year. In this period, offenders receive private counseling, group counseling, vocational training, and legal education. They also complete 60 hours of community service. They are supervised by prosecutors and have to submit a written report every month. If they meet all the requirements and conditions and do not violate any laws or regulations, they are given a non-prosecution decision. This decision is considered a final judicial decision and is not kept on record. In the future, if the juvenile's schools or employers run criminal background checks, they will not find a any history of criminal offenses.

The following section provides the description of the youth who participated in the "Dandelion Pukou" diversion program, including demographic information, family history, educational background, criminal history, the type of services they received while in the program, and the program outcome.

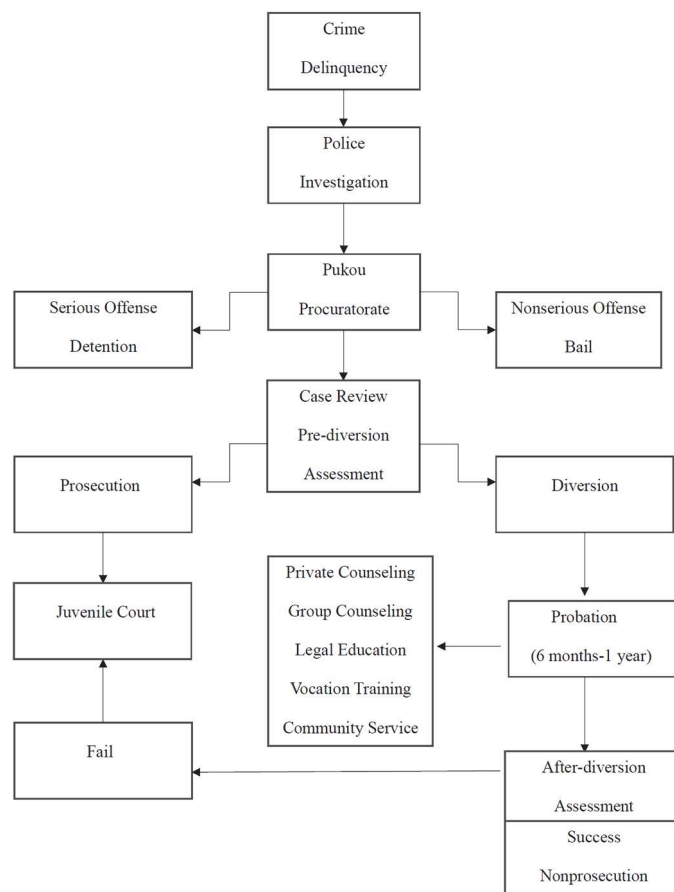


Figure 2. Prediversion Assessment

Methodology: The Chinese Diversion Program

Data Collection

First, permission was obtained from the Peoples Procuratorial Office in Pukou so that researchers could have access to the probation records of youth who were eligible for the program. Second, approval from Institutional Review Board (IRB) was secured. Once the approval from IRB was received, the Procuratorial Office released the non-identified data to the researchers. Research variables included the number of youth placed in the Dandelion Pukou program, profiles of the youth including prior criminal histories, risk levels, the type of original offenses for which they were placed in the program, new offenses committed during the participation in the program, success or failure, and the final legal decision. Although the program was started in 2011, the agency was only able to provide data from September 2013 through January 2016. During this time, the agency received a total of 47 juvenile cases from the police. Of these, 17 cases were considered eligible for diversion and were all referred to the program. Another 11 cases were considered extremely minor, and prosecutors made a direct non-prosecution decision without referring them to the program. None of those offenders had prior criminal records.

³ In China, offenders are allowed two or more defense attorneys.

Results

Gender, Age, and Occupation

Out of the 17 cases, 16 were male; 1 was female (see Table 1). Most of the youth ($n = 16$, 94.12%) were 17 years old at the time of committing crimes; 1 was 16 years old (see Table 2). A few youth ($n = 5$, 29.41%) were students; 2 (11.77%) were employed at the time of arrest; 10 (58.82%) were unemployed (see Table 3). None of those youth had prior delinquency adjudication.

Table 1.
Gender

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	16	94.12%
Female	1	5.88%
Total	17	100%

Table 2.
Age

Age	Frequency	Percentage
16	1	5.88%
17	16	94.12%
Total	17	100%

Table 3.
Occupation

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Students	5	29.44%
Workers	2	11.77%
Non-employment	10	58.82%
Total	17	100%

Original Offenses

All of the youth had only one original offense for which they received probation. More than 50% ($n = 9$) of the first charges were theft, while 35.29% ($n = 6$) were related to public order disruption/disturbances (see Table 4). Out of the 17 youth, 7 were charged with conspiracy as their crimes were committed with other youth. The remaining 9 youth committed crimes by themselves.

Table 4.
Original Offenses

Original Offenses	Frequency	Percentage
Theft	9	52.95%
Public Order Disruption	6	35.29%
Conceal, transfer and purchase or sell property obtained through crime	1	5.88%
False imprisonment	1	5.88%
Total	17	100%

New Offenses, Technical Violations

None of the youth committed new offenses. However, one refused to accept counseling service and legal education. Because the counseling and legal education are mandatory according to their contract, this youth did not fulfill the requirement and was finally prosecuted. Comparing to those who fulfilled the diversion contract, the youth who failed had several risk factors that might contribute to his failure. First, he lived with his friends, not his family, which decreased the informal social control level. Second, during his probation he worked in a night club, which increased his likelihood of being involved in other deviant behavior.

Length of Probation

The Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment) requires a six-month to one-year probation period for conditional non prosecution. Most youth ($n = 11$, 64.7%) stayed in the program for six months (see Table 5). Only one stayed in the program for a whole year. The average length of probation was 7.17 months.

Table 5.
Length of Probation

Length of Probation	Frequency	Percentage
12 months	1	5.88%
10 months	2	11.76%
8 months	3	3.75%
6 months	11	64.71%
Total	17	100%

Family Background

Most of the youth were from dysfunctional families. Four youth ($n = 4$, 23.53%) were from single-parent families (see Table 6), and four ($n = 4$, 23.53%) did not live with their parents (see Table 7). Three lived with their friends, and one lived with grandparents. One youth reported to the social worker that his father had been diagnosed with a mental disability and his mother was physically disabled. Another reported domestic violence in his family.

Table 6.
Family Type

Family Type	Frequency	Percentage
Single parent family	4	23.53%
Family with both parents	13	76.47%
Total	17	100%

Table 7.
Living Conditions

Family Type	Frequency	Percentage
Living with parents	13	76.47%
Living with friends	3	3.75%
Living with grandparents	1	5.88%
Total	17	100%

Type of Services

The program provides seven types of services: face-to-face counseling, group counseling, vocational training, communication training, parental training, family visits, and school visits. All of the youth received face-to-face counseling and group counseling. One youth received vocational training and communication training. Six youth's parents participated in the parental training. Three youths received a family visit, and two youths received a school visit. Besides these services, eight youths were followed up by telephone while they were in diversion. In addition to these services, the youth participated in some voluntary work and performed 60 hours of community service.

Victims' Satisfaction

Victims' satisfaction is an important factor in evaluating restorative justice program outcomes (Bradshaw & Umbreit, 2003). Although there was no clear measurement of victims' satisfaction in this study, no victims appealed to the upper-level procuratorial office regarding the placement of youth in the diversion program.

Case Study

In addition to the aforementioned descriptive data, the researchers used a case study method to provide a better understanding of the youth's family, school, and peer experience. Sixteen youths reported family issues. Eight youths reported that their parents were too busy and did not care about them. These also reported a lack of communication between themselves and their parents. Two youths reported abuse by their father at home. One juvenile mentioned financial issues at home. Besides family issues, school experience also is a concern. Two youths reported being bullied at school, and three dropped out of school. Four youths reported having close delinquent friends, and two reported that they learned how to steal from delinquent friends. In spite of these few reports of school-related issues, most of the social and relationship issues were concentrated at home.

For a deep understanding of individuals, typical examples of two cases are reported as follows.

Case 1. Youth 1 (Y1) stayed in the program for an entire year, which is the longest probation period. Y1 was a student when he committed the crime. His offense was theft. Y1 reported to the social worker that the relationship between his parents was intense and he did not feel care and support from his family. Although he grew up in a family with both parents, his father worked in another city, seldom lived at home, and did not pay for the family living expenses. Thus, his mother had to work very hard and did not talk with him often. Y1 also reported that he did not get enough legal education in the school. Y1 described himself as impulsive and rebellious.

During his year in the program, he received six face-to-face counseling sessions and one group counseling session. The social worker and prosecutor visited his school 13 times in the year. The school visit included discussions with his teachers and classmates. After the treatment, Y1 fulfilled all requirements and was assessed as a "success" in the program by the service provider.

Case 2. Youth 2 (Y2) was the only youth that was finally prosecuted in court. Y2 was charged with conspiracy to commit theft with two other youths. The other two fulfilled the requirements and received a final nonprosecution decision. Y2 stayed in the program for eight months. During his probation, he worked in a nightclub. He received four face-to-face counseling sessions. However, he refused to partici-

pate in other services and did not report to the prosecutor regularly, which violated his *bangjiao* contract, and he was prosecuted in court.

Conclusion

The Chinese diversion program, Dandelion Pukou, is relatively new and is used in the prosecutorial phase. In addition, the program is primarily geared towards petty offenders as a way of encouraging youth to avoid prosecution. Between September 2013 and January 2016, the program diverted 16 cases from incarceration in youth prison. Overall, a total of 15 cases were identified by prosecutors as a success because these offenders fulfilled the diversion contract and received the nonprosecution decision. Only one offender violated the requirement and was finally prosecuted. The diversion program continues to accomplish its core goals of reducing juvenile incarceration and recidivism, while increasing victims' satisfaction with the justice system. The Chinese model of delinquency control contributes the most to this positive outcome. First, the surveillance approach increases the level of formal social control. The Prosecutorial Office has the power of supervising and observing youth according to the Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment). In Dandelion Pukou, this supervision is conducted through the enactment of the *bangjiao* contract. Youth are required to submit written reports monthly. Prosecutors also visit the school and family often. The visit also increases formal control. Second, informal social control contributes to the positive outcome of the program. The parents and teachers sign the *bangjiao* contract. They are required to supervise youth behavior during probation. Family and school visits continuously remind them of their responsibility. The collaboration of school, family, and the legal agency increases control over youth.

The second factor contributing to the positive outcome is the nature of the offense and offenders selected for the program. Youth who participate in the program are low-risk. None have any prior criminal record. They are all nonviolent offenders. Offenses are relatively minor, such as theft and false imprisonment.

The third possible explanation is the reintegrative shaming nature of Chinese society. Traditional Eastern countries, such as Japan and China, show the great value of reintegrative shaming. In Dandelion Pukou, people from the local community and neighborhood are brought in, and they are asked to reaccept the youth and give them a second chance at a normal life. The reacceptance of the community helps youth recognize consequences and reduce recidivism.

The results seem quite promising. However, there are still some questions about why there were only 16 cases in total that were referred to the program. Two factors limit the expansion of the program. First, heavy caseload prevents prosecutors from expanding the diversion program. For example, for each diversion case, the prosecutor has to interview the offender, meet with the family and people from the community, and organize the round table meeting with all stakeholders. In all, the diversion brings a lot of extra work. Even with the assistance of the social worker, the prosecutor still has to put much effort in reviewing each case. Thus, it is likely that they are reluctant to refer a case to the program even if the program provides supportive service to youth and their families. Second, for police departments, only a conviction counts toward success. If a case is referred to the diversion program and not prosecuted, it does not count toward their success as law enforcement. If they predict that a certain case might end up in diversion, they may tend to execute their discretionary power and not to refer the case to the prosecutorial office. This limits the number of diversion-eligible cases to the procuratorial office. In spite of these limitations, China continues to emphasize diversion program for youth.

References

- Beck, V. S., Ramsey, R. J., Lipps, T. R., & Travis, L. F. 2006. Juvenile diversion: An outcome study of the Hamilton County, Ohio, unofficial juvenile community courts. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 57(1), 1–10.
- Becker, H. S. (1963). *Outsiders: Defining deviance*. Retrieved January 26, 2017, from http://leecclarke.com/courses/intro/readings/beckers_definingdeviance.pdf
- Bradshaw, W., & Umbreit, M. (2003). Assessing satisfaction with victim services: The development and use of the victim satisfaction with offender dialogue scale (VSODS). *International Review of Victimology*, 10(1), 71–83.
- Braithwaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press
- Bynum, J. E., & Thompson, W. E. (1996). *Juvenile delinquency: A sociological approach*. (3rd Edition). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Chen, X. (2002). Social control in China: Applications of the labeling theory and the reintegrative shaming theory. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*, 46(1), 45–63.
- Criminal Law of People's Republic of China (1997 Revision). Retrieved from <http://www.china.org.cn/english/government/207320.htm>
- Criminal Procedure Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment). Retrieved December 10, 2016, from <https://www.cecc.gov/resources/legal-provisions/criminal-procedure-law-of-the-peoples-republic-of-china>
- Davidson, W. S. II, Redner, R., Admur, R., & Mitchell, C. (1990). *Alternative treatments for troubled youth: The case of diversion from the justice system*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.
- Deng, S. G. (2012). Jian li wo guo de fu tiao jian bu qi su zhi du (The establishing of the Chinese conditional nonprosecution system). *Guo jia jian cha guan xue yuan xue bao*, 20(1), 100–106.
- Dong, L.T. (2015). Wo guo fu tiao jian bu qi su zhi du ruo gan wen ti de fan si yu wan shan (Reconsidering several issues in Chinese condition non-prosecution system and how to improve it). *Ji nan xue bao*, 1, 42–52.
- Elliott, D. S., Dunford, F. W., & Knowles, B. (1978). *Diversion: A study of alternative processing practices: An overview of initial study findings*. Boulder, CO: Behavioral Research Institute.
- Evans Cuellar, A., McReynolds, L. S., & Wasserman, G. A. (2006). A cure for crime: Can mental health treatment diversion reduce crime among youth? *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 25(1), 197–214. DOI: 10.1002/pam.20162
- Frazier, C. E., & Cochran, J. K. (1986). Official intervention, diversion from the juvenile justice system, and dynamics of human services work: Effects of a reform goal based on labeling theory. *Crime & Delinquency*, 32(2), 157–176.
- Hamilton, Z. K., Sullivan, C. J., Veysey, B. M., & Grillo, M. (2007). Diverting multi-problem youth from juvenile justice: investigating the importance of community influence on placement and recidivism. *Behavioral sciences & the law*, 25(1), 137–158. doi: 10.1002/bsl.720
- Henggeler, S. W., Halliday-Boykins, C. A., Cunningham, P. B., Randall, J., Shapiro, S. B., & Chapman, J. E. (2006). Juvenile drug court: Enhancing outcomes by integrating evidence-based treatments. *Journal of consulting and clinical psychology*, 74(1), 42. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0022-006X.74.1.42>
- Klein, Malcolm W. 1976. Issues and Realities in Police Diversion Programs. *Crime and Delinquency*, 22, 421–27.
- Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Minors (1991). Retrieved from <http://www.china.org.cn/english/government/207411.htm>
- Law of the People's Republic of China on Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (2012 Amendment). Retrieved from <http://www.lawinfochina.com/display.aspx?lib=law&id=12577&CGid=>
- Lemert, E. M. (1972). *Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
- Lincoln, S. B. 1976. Juvenile Referral and Recidivism. In R. M. Carter and M. W. Klein (eds.). *Back on the Street: Diversion of Juvenile Offenders*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Lipsey, M.W., Cordray, D. S., and Berger, D. E. (1981). Evaluation of a Juvenile Diversion Program: Using Multiple Lines of Evidence. *Evaluation Review* 5(3), 283–306.
- Lo, T. W., Maxwell, G. M., & Wong, D. S. (2006). Diversion from youth courts in five Asia Pacific jurisdictions welfare or restorative solutions. *International Journal of Offender Therapy & Comparative Criminology*, 50(1), 5–20. doi:10.1177/0306624X05277944
- Lundman, R. J. (1993). *Prevention and control of delinquency*. (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Patrick, S., & Marsh, R. (2005). Juvenile diversion: Results of a 3-year experimental study. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 16(1), 59–73.
- Polk, K. (1995). Polk, K. (1984). Juvenile diversion: A look at the record. *Crime & Delinquency*, 30(4), 648–659. doi: 10.1177/0011128784030004011
- Public Security Administration Punishments Law of the People's Republic of China (2012 Amendment). Retrieved from <http://www.lawinfochina.com/display.aspx?lib=law&id=4549&CGid=>
- Summer Program of Dandelion Pukou (2013, August). Retrieved from <http://www.pkjcy.net/dxszyfw/zxx/201308/640.html>
- Tannenbaum, F. (1938). *Crime and the community*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.